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CHAPTER XII

VARIOUS MAGICAL INFLUENCES AND OMENS—DREAMS

789 In the last chapter we noticed many instances of the belief that
787 qualities, acts, and events have a mysterious power of producing more
777 or less similar effects. In other cases of magic causation the effect is more indefinite or more unlike its cause. Yet even then we very frequently find the law of association of ideas by similarity operating in combining agreeable qualities or events with agreeable, and disagreeable qualities or events with disagreeable, consequences. And there is a parallel combination in the case of omens, which are often hardly distinguishable from magical influences.

777 [7] If a man meets an old woman on his way he should say, "In the name of God the merciful the compassionate"; and if he meets her in the morning when he sets out on a journey he should not proceed on that day but turn back (Ait Waryager). It is also unlucky to meet a widow or a barren woman in the morning (Igliwa), and so it is to meet a widow in the evening as well (Ait Waryager).

585 [8] It is bad fal to meet a bridal procession on the road (Shawia,
787 Andjra, Ait Waryager). In Andjra it is believed that if two bridal processions meet, one of the brides will die, being affected by the other one's bas; and among the Ait Waryager it is the custom for the women of both parties to throw stones at each other to drive away the evil. At Tangier I was told that it is bad fal if two 'ammariyat (more often called a'mamer), or bridal boxes, meet, or if anybody meets one in the morning, because the 'ammariya means a bier. But this explanation cannot apply to the tribes mentioned above, among whom a woman's bier is not made to resemble an 'ammariya or, as in the Shawia and among the Ait Waryager, 'ammariyat are not used at weddings.

585 [9] But although a bride is looked upon with some suspicion and
581 a wedding is not without its dangers, benign magic virtue is on the other hand ascribed both to bride and bridegroom, and the wedding is a blessed occasion from which those who take part in it and even

581 585 the community at large expect various benefits. For marriage is a good thing, approved of by religion and contributing to the happiness and comfort of life. If a person in travelling comes to a village where a wedding is going on, he should stop there overnight (Andjra) or at any rate join in the feast (Ulad [10] Bu'aziz, Ait Waryager), and it is bad fal if he does not do so; and the same applies to other feasts besides weddings. These beliefs may spring from a feeling that a person should not miss the opportunity to be present on a blessed or joyful occasion—it is in particular good fal if the host invites the traveller to stay over the whole occasion. But there may also be another reason for it, which suggested itself when I discussed the matter with a native informant: a gathering of happy people may have a tendency to throw off the bas, which is then floating about and liable to affect the passer-by. Some consider it bad fal to meet a party of people who are making merry (Andjra, Shawia). So also the contrary belief that it is good fal to meet a funeral (Shawia, Tangier, Andjra, Ait Waryager, Temsaman) might be explained by the tendency of the latter to attract the bas; the person who meets it will live long (Tangier).

783 755 Manslayers are unclear.

[11] Feigned stabbing by a homicide is a very widespread cure for stinging pain, in Arabic called nahsa, nogza, bab, or biban, among the Igliwa nnahst or nnogzt, among the Ait Warain tauwurt, among the Ait Waryager dauwort. In the last-mentioned tribe ashes are put on the part of the body where the pain is felt, and the homicide then pretends to stab it with his dagger seven times, every alternate time touching the flesh.

783 775 682 [12] The uncleanness of a manslayer is not merely due to the blood pollution but also to his sin. Among the Rifians of the Ait Waryager an ordinary manslayer is not considered unclean, nor is he blamed for his deed. They admit that murder was forbidden by the Prophet and that a murderer will go to hell; but if he says his prayers and gives alms and invites scribes to recite the Koran he is likely to get rid of his sin, and besides, a Rifian is not much afraid of hell.

884 682 Whatever religion may say on the matter, a man who has not taken anybody's life before he is married is not considered a man. When a young fellow has for the first time killed a person he goes to the next market at the head of his family, dressed in his best clothes

000 It is of interest to note in passing that the only other part of North Africa where the same word (or, at least, a close variation, harfiqth) is normally employed to denote a lineage is among the Shawiya of the Aurès Mountains in Algeria (cf. Pierre Bourdieu, Sociologie de l'Algérie, series "Que Sais-Je?", Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1959, p. 37.)

[614] 63--Montagne is completely in error here, for the Rifian dharfiqth is not a clan at all, but a patrilineage. Blanco is somewhat nearer the truth, but always with this reservation: that although in some jma'th-s there may be (and indeed there are) no known kinship ties between their component dharfiqin, in others there most definitely are such ties. The latter case, as previously stated, is indeed the rule rather than the exception; but affiliations in either case can only be established on the basis of an individiual jma'th-by-jma'th analysis, and not selectively, as Blanco, in effect, has done it.

[581] 64--We have found no particular regional emphasis here. Marriages are made, among other reasons, both to heal bloodfeuds and to cement political alliances in both the Rif and the Atlas, and we are sure this is the case in Kabylia as well, although we have no personal acquantance with the area.

[593] [114] 65--One feels that some aspect of this judgment may be unnecessarily harsh even though we have heard (but not seen) a number of informants beat their wives, with the accompanying screams and howls of the latter. It is very difficult for a male anthropologist to gain any kind of access whatsoever to Rifian women, with the result that almost all information of this kind must of necessity be at second-hand, rather than direct observation. It also goes without saying that any remarks one might make about "cruelty" can, if not considered within the proper ethical-cultural framework, be construed only as value judgments.

66--To our knowledge, a woman cannot act as ukih for another women in the Rif.

[423] 67--Jma-th or collective property consists in the main of pasture land.

[114] 68--We have never heard of anything of the sort in the Rif, where theft is generally punished by a fine and the restitution of the stolen object.

69--The Scottish clan, as any anthropologist knows, is not a clan at all, but a bilateral kindred. Rifians, as already mentioned, however, [614] do have clans (the largest and topmost level groupings in each tribe function as such); but these are quite a different thing from the notion of the jma'th!

[114] [829] 70--Blanco does not specifically come out and say so, but he obviously thinks--and, in large measure, correctly--that the inability of most Rifians to explain what a jma'th is and what its social role consists of may well have led to the confusion evinced by previous authors in attempting to define it. In any case, a certain degree of structural ambiguity seems to be inherent in Berber social organization generally.

584 are not available, the father's brother. The negotiations may have begun at the request of a young man who has already selected a girl, but more likely they have been initiated by the parents without the knowledge of the children involved. The more isolated [178] and traditional the dchar, the more prevalent is the exclusion of [621] the children themselves. This, as well as the subsequent description and analysis, applies only to initial marriages. Men with [595] multiple wives generally arrange all subsequent matrimonies. The [369] urban context in the city of Alhucemas is different in that the majority of young men are cash earners capable of arranging their own marriage. Needless to say, no matter what the context, the [593] man attempts to have parental approval. An open break with one's family carries with it a high burden of social shame and inconvenience.

The opening of negotiations is very delicate. Men attempt 584 to marry their offspring in the most advantageous manner, either 581 to families who are superior to their own or to equals. The strategy of choice is better understood when we recall the historical context of the Rif. As noted in Chapter 1, Rif society [571] was acephalous with a tendency toward anarchy. In such a situ- [602] ation each family sought security through a system of alliances based in part on kin ties. Although today internal security is [178] guaranteed by the national government, there is still a heavy [571] overlay of the ideology of alliance in influencing marriage, based on social and economic conditions. The shorfa or des- 565 582 cendents of the Prophet are still supposed to marry only into 792

584 pick out a prospective husband and let it be known among her
[521] circle of girl friends that she likes him. Within the community such information is conveyed through gossip so that it becomes knowledge among the women in both the girl's and boy's family. If the boy is interested he may ask his mother or grandmother to urge the male members of his family to talk to the girl's father. Such procedure occurs only among the poor, who are, however, the majority.

584 Men have more say about their prospective spouse because
562 of the fear of divorce. Since the male has the option of initi-
586 ating divorce proceedings, it is thought unwise to force a son into a marriage that he strenuously opposes, since all the advantages that accrue from the match are terminated at its rupture.

584 Westermarck (1914:50-51) notes that among the Beni Wariyghar if
[782] a man wishes to marry a girl and his father opposes the match,
[571] the son can sacrifice a sheep outside the parental home, placing an obligatory duty ('ar) on the father. He remarks that the Riffians do not regard this as a good method for obtaining a wife. I encountered no case of this occurring. I do know of
[593] instances in which the son has married against the father's will
[464] and has been kicked off the land. In such cases the men work as
[427] akhammas or migrate abroad in search of wage labor. In such circumstances shame is thought to fall on both parties.

584 Aside from the preferences of the couple, it is supposed
581 that a certain amount of advantage stems from marrying a relative
582 which is counterbalanced by disadvantages. My informants agreed

584 that the following factors are evaluated in each case.

581 Advantages in marrying a relative are:

582 1. You don't fight over whose family is superior.

2. You know the girl beforehand and have a fair idea of what sort of a person you are getting.

3. It is a simpler property arrangement.

4. Your family already knows the girl, presumably likes her, and there is no problem of an outsider coming in and being picked upon by the women of the household.

5. If a husband is fighting with his wife, the common family relatives will pressure him into treating the woman better in order to decrease the possibility of divorce.

On the other hand, there are a countervailing series of factors which discourage marriage to a relative:

1. It is harder to be in love with or be attracted sexually by a woman with whom you have grown up and whom you regard as a sister.

2. It is socially and economically advantageous to spread out one's contacts through alliances with non-relatives.

3. With an outsider, a non-related wife, the husband has more power because his wife does not have any natural allies with the household or the family.

4. Although property arrangements are more complicated, there is a greater possibility of bringing additional property into the family with an outside wife than there is with a marriage within the family.

581 While such exchange as emerges from marriage defies the
571 making of pronouncements about the guiding principle behind alliance in purely structural terms, it does expose the factor that the distribution of human resources is influenced by both social and economic calculation of a given situation.

584 Negotiations are always begun on the side of the prospective groom. No father would attempt to initiate negotiations

/295 cont./
619 648 in the creation of a kind of political chessboard analogous to the one that we found among the Masmouda, subsided for a time.

175 726 [648] Several years of peace -- from 1898 to 1903 -- were followed by the passing of the pretender Bou Hamara and soon by the intervention of Spain on the coasts of the Rif beginning from 1909. Anarchy broke out anew; other leffs were again constituted [616] [634] around the two rival fractions of Targist, winning all the country from the West to the East, from the Beni Gmil to the Beni Amret. It was in the course of these combats that there then appeared and grew important such amghars as El Hajj Beqqich, in the north of the Gzennaya, Mohammed ᶜAbdallah of the Ijaᶜounen, in the tribe of the Beni Amret, Mesaᶜoud of Aqqa among the Beni Gmil.

634 [171] /296/ These minor chiefs then are masters more absolute in their tribes than the Masmouda amghars of the same importance; they do not find themselves in fact inconvenienced by the tradition of the oligarchic inflas councils, nor by the memory of the moqaddem's role. Nevertheless, like the amghars of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, they share with the notables the fines paid by [171] [681] the guilty, taking a third when they are still weak and nearly all [434] when they have solidly established their power. In the cantons that they dominate, they establish other amghars chosen from [614] among the strongest "tarfiqt" chiefs and bind them to them by [581] marriages. The authority that they acquire in this way is such that they are capable of conducting far and wide, across the neighboring tribes, expeditions to a distance of a day's march, in order to go to make their word respected and to punish their adversaries. El Hajj Beqqich did this; leaving from the sources of the Nkor, he went with his horsemen to wreak vengeance on his enemies as far as Ajdir.

175 721 634 648 [669] At the time of the great movement for a holy war against Spain in 1921, the amghars figured at the head of the Riffian contingents. We see them take part with ardor in the battle of Anoual. But when ᶜAbd el Kerim, his relatives and companions from the village of Ajdir take, by means of the "Jihad," the command of the Beni Ouriaghel, organize a little state, bend the surrounding tribes to their will in order better to direct the fight